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Memorandum for: RECORD

Subject: Talking Points: Europeans Arms
Control Developments

The attached was prepared by
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Analysis [redacted] on 22 January 1984.
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**Office of European Analysis
Directorate of Intelligence**

TALKING POINTS: European Arms Control Developments

- o 1984 was a critical year for the Alliance arms control/defense policies.
 - Showed solidarity with 1979 dual track decision in the face of the Soviet November 1983 walk-out at Geneva.
 - INF deployments progressed smoothly in the UK, FRG, and Italy:
 - roughly one-half of P-IIS deployed by December 1984; remainder deployed by late 1985.
 - UK deployments continue, with over half deployed by the end of 1985.
 - Italy deployed its first GLCM flight in March 1984 and will deploy the second in early 1986.
 - Allies resisted strenuous Soviet and peace group efforts to derail INF; Soviet meddling in domestic politics backfired in the FRG, and threats of an "ice age" between the two Germanies did not materialize.
- o 1985 begins on propitious note with resumption in US-Soviet talks.
 - European allies have unanimously endorsed the dialogue, as sign that East-West tensions can be reduced.
 - French, British and West German leaders especially pleased with consultations prior to Geneva meetings and US briefings immediately after talks.
 - NATO partners nonetheless will remain concerned about how the arms control dialogue affects their security interests:
 - On SDI, allies are cautiously endorsing the US research effort as a prudent decision, but expect to be consulted early if any deployment is under consideration. They firmly support the ABM treaty

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- and have been pleased with US reaffirmations of its value.
- British and French reservations on SDI remain, since their nuclear force planning could be affected by any Soviet program to deploy large ballistic missile defenses.
 - Other allies emphasize the need for consultations, in order to shape a public relations effort on SDI; particularly in the FRG and the Netherlands, where nuclear angst is greatest, leaders are concerned that "star wars" could reignite anti-INF sentiments.
- Allies recognize that early agreements are unlikely because of complexity of dealing with three classes of weapons.
- Allies would become concerned if it appeared that INF issues were being subordinated to US-Soviet strategic negotiations or used as bargaining chips in the talks, without European consultations.
 - As usual, the British and French have welcomed US refusal at Geneva to discuss UK/Fr nuclear forces in these talks, and they would be concerned with any deviation from that position.
- On INF, we remain concerned that domestic politics in both Belgium and the Netherlands could overturn the planned deployments in 1985 and 1986.
- The Belgian government's decision to approve "in principal" INF but to reconsider basing timetable I makes it very unlikely that deployment will occur this year.
 - In the Netherlands, the government will decide on November 1st, whether to begin deploying GLCMs in 1986, depending on whether the number of Soviet SS-20s has grown since June 1984. Strong parliamentary opposition to INF and exaggerated hopes of an early arms control agreement will complicate the November decision, moreso now that Belgium appears to be deviating from the planned deployment schedule.
- In spite of these possible developments, the FRG, UK, and Italian deployments are likely to proceed. FRG officials have already reassured the US of this, and

there are no signs of flagging support in the UK. Italy, too, has weathered its peace movement and is likely to continue with the deployment schedule, so long as it can be done without fanfare. The possibility of an election this year could revive the Communist party's campaign against INF.

- We expect a major Soviet campaign against INF and SDI, but do not believe it will stop deployment in The FRG, UK, or Italy.
- Soviet officials have already broadcast their view that continued INF deployment will hamper the new talks and that there should be a moratorium on all deployments during the negotiations.
- Foreign Minister Gromyko will be visiting European capitals this spring (so far, Rome, the Hague, and possibly Brussels) hoping to influence INF decisions.
- We already see signs that Moscow is activating West European Communists to begin a broad campaign for disarmament and to create a "front" across Western Europe against US plans to militarize space.